

# PEACE NEWS

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2d.

## We Now See That Democracy Cannot Be Defended By Arms

# WAR BRINGS FASCISM: Dictatorship Powers for the Government

By the Editor of "Peace News"

"NAZISM AT HOME!" "A BLOW AT YOUR LIBERTY!"  
"POWER TO PRODUCE ALL THE CONDITIONS OF A GERMAN  
CONCENTRATION CAMP!"  
"POWERS OF DETENTION REALLY TERRIFYING!"

These are phrases spoken and written last week, not by pacifists, irresponsible agitators, or enemies of Britain, but by eminent Liberal politicians and journalists, and even by a conservative newspaper, the *Daily Mirror*. They were used to describe the powers which the Government now possess—and have already begun to use—under the Emergency Powers Act.

Those powers are part of the price of using the war method to "settle" international issues—as pacifists have always pointed out, not only when the Act was passed, but for long before. Now that the thing is here cries of "fascism!" arise from even the most responsible quarters.

But so long as such people continue to support the war they have no valid ground for opposing this fascism. Let those who now see face to face something of what war means in forcing on them the very things they sincerely believed they were fighting to prevent, oppose this fascism in the only possible way—by joining the daily growing numbers who demand that, instead of going on with this futile war, a truce be called and everything done to try to solve Europe's problem round the conference table. If they are prepared to sacrifice anything, let it be the much less sacrifice that would make such a peace possible.

### Sacrifice For Peace or War?

As it is, here is the *beginning* only of the tremendous and vital sacrifice of what we hold dearest—such freedom as we have—that we shall have to make if we go on with the war.

For under an Order in Council, amending the regulations originally made under the Emergency Powers Act,

No person shall "endeavour, whether orally or otherwise, to influence public opinion (whether in the United Kingdom or elsewhere)"—"including the opinion of any section of the public"—"in a manner likely to be prejudicial to the defence of the realm or the efficient prosecution of war."

"The Secretary of State may make provision by order for preventing or restricting the publication in the United Kingdom of matters as to which he is satisfied that the publication or, as the case may be, the unrestricted publication, thereof would or might be prejudicial to the defence of the realm or the efficient prosecution of war, and an order under this paragraph may contain such incidental and supplementary provisions as appear to the Secretary of State to be necessary or expedient for the purposes of the order."

"Where any person is convicted on indictment of an offence against this regulation by reason of his having published a newspaper, the court may by order direct that, during such period as may be specified in the order, that person shall not publish any newspaper in the United Kingdom."

### FREEDOM: A Lead From Bournemouth

A LEAD to pacifists throughout the country who are meeting police interference with their propaganda has been given by Bournemouth group of the Peace Pledge Union.

Following an illegal police ban on a public meeting they intended to hold, they held a protest poster parade and followed it up on Monday evening with a crowded public meeting in the same hall in which the banned meeting was to have been held.

Story, p. 5; John Barclay's Comment, p. 6

If "the Secretary of State" suspects any person, he may make an order

- "(1) Prohibiting or restricting the possession or use by that person of any specified articles.
- "(2) Imposing upon him such restrictions as may be specified in the order in respect of his employment or business, in respect of his association or communication with other persons, and in respect of his activities in relation to the dissemination of news or the propagation of opinions;
- "(3) Directing that he be detained . . . in such place and under such conditions as the Secretary of State may from time to time determine." (This is the already notorious Section 18 B).

"The Secretary of State may, as respects any area in the United Kingdom, by order direct that, subject to any exemptions for which provision may be made by the order, no person in that area shall, between such hours as may be specified in the order, be out of doors except under the authority of

(Continued on page 4.)



### Whence Comes the Peril?



The  
Plain  
Man  
Replies  
to the  
Daily  
Mail:

### C.O.s AREN'T SHIRKERS

SOME of us have been wondering how long it would be before conscientious objectors found themselves the objects of scorn and hatred which they became during the last war.

So far there has been an almost complete absence of anything of the sort. But for that very reason an article by Charles Graves in the *Daily Mail* last Thursday calls for an answer.

It was in the worst of taste, and managed to convey—deliberately or otherwise—a completely wrong picture of the sort of young men who are daily appearing before the tribunals for conscientious objectors.

Charles Graves had attended a meeting of the London tribunal in Fulham Town Hall. Of the COs themselves he wrote:

"The majority of these youths are actuated by motives which turn out to be pure selfishness and personal cowardice, and which they try to disguise by bogus theology and claptrap phrases . . . but most of them are scared stiff."

At first I wondered why Mr. Graves was so sure of their motives. Many people believe that to judge another man's sincerity it practically an impossible job—most of all for men whose outlook is fundamentally

(Continued on page 8.)



### From Berlin, or Nearer Home?

No one will deny that Fascism means the suppression of our liberties. But Fascism need not be imported, as the Government's Regulations have shown. Only by ending war can we defeat these steps to totalitarianism.



**Pacifist Commentary . . . edited by "Observer"**

# Will Stalemate Bring War to Early End? People Should Demand Peace Now Put It To the Vote

Reginald Reynolds writes:

**W**ITHIN six months, unless unforeseen events in the diplomatic war alter the present balance of forces, the war on the Western Front must come to an end. It is a complete stalemate.

"Hitler is unlikely to be so mad as to hurl his forces against the Maginot Line. Nor is he likely to open up a wider front by the invasion of Belgium. The Allies, who originally took the offensive on the Western Front, are already on the defensive. General Gamelin knows that to take the offensive again, now that the German armies are massed against him, is the surest way to decimate his own forces and lose the war. Each side is digging into its position, waiting for the other to make the blunder of attacking impregnable lines.

"The 'blockades' proclaimed are equally futile. German submarine warfare will continue to keep Britain and France short of certain commodities. There will be scarcity and a continued rise in prices, but no complete collapse. On the other hand, the more effective blockade of German ports by Britain is negated by the vast hinterland now open to Germany by successful diplomacy. Through Italy, Russia, the Baltic States, and the Balkans, goods will enter Germany without difficulty.

"It is not long since the opponents of German colonial claims were telling us how little Germany was dependant upon colonial products. Let them now study their own figures and realize that with accumulated reserves of a few commodities, Germany can dispense with most of the trade from which she is now barred.

## An Early End?

**I**N such a situation an early cessation of hostilities is almost inevitable. Each side fights for dominion, for markets and the right to exploit colonies—in a single phrase, for wealth and power.

"This is therefore an understandable war just so long as one side or the other has a hope of decisive victory. What neither side can afford is a prolonged war conducted as this war is conducted at present, with heavy loss of trade and vastly increased taxation. To support this with no possibility of 'victory' would be a dead loss to all concerned.

"That is putting the matter quite realistically and, if you like, cynically. The politicians who landed Europe into this war are beginning to realize that there is neither profit nor power to be gained from it. They have strained every diplomatic resource to break the stalemate by bringing in one of the three neutral Powers which might substantially alter the alignment of forces.

"But America, Russia and Italy have all made it clear that they have no desire to

be drawn in, and will press for a European settlement, for they, too, would be losers if the war continued. Russia, it is true, has done very well for herself in the initial stages, but that does not make her any less keen to consolidate her gains by a peace settlement.

## For Want of a Formula!

**W**HAT, then, prevents an immediate peace settlement?

"If it were true—as our Communist friends would have us believe—that the Russian advance into Poland was an advance of the frontiers of socialism, we could be sure that Britain and France would have made peace in September. European capitalism would never continue such a war if socialism were really advancing into Europe. Neither would men like Churchill and Lloyd George have favoured a Russian alliance. Nor would our Government today, whilst continuing the war with Germany, carefully avoid so much as an offensive reference to the Soviets.

"We remain at war—incredible though it may seem—merely because the British and French governments have not yet devised a formula to save their faces. Everyone knows that we entered this war because of a guarantee to Poland; and everyone knows that the Allied Governments dare not repeat that guarantee in its only logical form—a pledge to restore the original Polish frontiers. To make that pledge would bring the Allies automatically into conflict with Russian imperialism. It would imply war against Russia. And that is precisely what our government and that of France are not prepared to face: a Russo-German coalition would be too strong for them.

"It is not for us to applaud Russia's action. There is no reason to suppose that the peasants of Eastern Poland will be any happier under the totalitarian tyranny of Russia than they would have been under Hitler, or were under the Polish aristocracy. The idea that there is something 'revolutionary' about the régime of present-day Russia is as fantastic as the notion which associates German 'national socialism' with Socialism in its accepted sense—a social and political democracy, in which 'class' is abolished.

"What Russia has done is to create a situation in which the war only means something if the Western Powers are prepared to fight her as well as Germany. Since they are not, the war has no meaning at all, and the statesmen are reduced to vague and meaningless phrases.

## Slogans for Sale

**M**EANWHILE, just as Hitler, the enemy of socialism, has been compelled to tax industry heavily and limit its profits, so our own Government is forced to take measures which no Labour Government be drawn in, and will press for a European settlement, for they, too, would be losers if the war continued. Russia, it is true, has done very well for herself in the initial stages, but that does not make her any less keen to consolidate her gains by a peace settlement.

"And the only reason which the Government can offer for this is that it is opposed to Hitler. They are even reduced to using the discarded slogans of the Communist Party; for while the Communists have suddenly decided that they are no longer against Hitler or fascism but only against 'aggression' (except, of course, Russian aggression) the Government has piped down about aggression—embarrassed by the situation in Poland—and has become the exponent of 'anti-Hitlerism,' as though that phrase contained a programme and a policy.

"It is out of this bankruptcy that peace is bound to come. Peace is for everyone the only possible solution. But why should the world wait and the murder continue, the ships be sunk and the people live under emergency legislation until Chamberlain and Daladier can find the right phrases to save what is left of their reputations?

"We must demand peace now, and we must tell the people plainly that the only difference between peace now and peace later will be the number of people killed

and the extent of ruin and havoc caused by a war fought for no declared object that has any meaning, a war fore-doomed to futility. And we must demand that peace shall not be a mere armed truce: we want a lasting settlement.

"If the Governments of Britain and France have any war aims which they dare declare, let us challenge them to hold a plebiscite upon them. I do not believe that for any concrete objectives they might place before us the country would give them even a narrow majority."

## When Aggression is Not Aggression!

**T**HE Government seems to be true to at least part of its undertaking to Poland, in not declaring war on the Soviet Union.

Mr. R. A. Butler told Mr. T. E. Harvey, in the House of Commons on October 19, that the references to aggression by a European Power, in the agreement of mutual assistance signed between the United Kingdom and Poland on August 25 last, were not intended to cover the case of aggression by other Powers than Germany.

So that we have no treaty obligation to "defend" Poland against Russia. Yet we still sometimes hear the war defended on the ground that it is being fought for the rights of small nations in general and Poland in particular.

But there can be little doubt that the action of Russia in occupying the eastern half of Poland has forced the supporters of the war, if not to declare their real aims (which is apparently as difficult as defending Poland!), at any rate to change their tune to generalities about ending Hitlerism.

That is how—as the Peace Pledge Union leaflet, *What Are We Fighting For?* puts it—"Russia has spiked the guns." And it is why so many, unable to face the other difficulty of saying just what we do hope to gain by going on fighting, are joining those who have opposed the war all along.

J. Middleton Murry on:

## The Pacifist Task Now

**P**ACIFISTS have three main jobs now: first, to encourage and help the conscientious objector. And here it is vital to work to enlarge the current conception of "conscience."

Many men in whom conscience is particularly delicate and active have, for that very reason, peculiar scruples against claiming that their conscience is religious. Many of the finest religious natures today feel it more honest and honourable to disclaim that they are religious. Of all the young men I know conspicuous for the sensitiveness of their conscience, not one professes and calls himself a Christian.

Second, to debunk all the big, impressive empty words with which men's minds are drugged into oblivion of the causes and nature of this war. Particularly, the big new one—Hitlerism. Hitlerism, as we of the liberal tradition (debunking there, too, please!) see it, is a pretty ugly thing; but, as the average German worker sees it, it is probably better looking than our own painted lady, capitalist democracy.

It means a square deal and a square meal for the underdog: above all, security for him. "Destroy Hitlerism," I therefore conjecture, does not sound at all attractive to the German proletariat. He feels, I doubt not, that Hitler has done a good deal more for him than Mr. Chamberlain has done for the British unemployed. And what about those slums?

Third, to help by every means in our power the growing demand for peace. Now that the rains have practically excluded all possibility of major operations on the Western Front, we have a winter of stalemate before us in which to reckon calmly the intolerable consequences of totalitarian war. Is there, for example, any conceivable solution to the problem of evacuation? Our

national education system has been practically destroyed over night.

More than one half the children in the evacuated areas are running wild in the cities; while most of those who remain evacuated are getting half an education—and even that at the cost of an enormous drain on the energies of the teachers, who have behaved nobly. Where the children are not running wild, family life has been broken up. Can any sane mind acquiesce in this process of rapid degeneration being deliberately prolonged for three years? Are we to fight "barbarism" in order to be conquered by internal savagery?

More and more, as the winter drags on, will it be evident to the man in the street that even the defence against totalitarian warfare—let alone totalitarian warfare itself—is utterly incompatible with even that small degree of civilization which he regards as essential to life.

The opportunity of the pacifist is unparalleled. His place in the spiritual economy of the nation has changed; he is no longer in the margin, no longer the eccentric idealist. Actually, he is now at the centre, and represents the nation's unconscious will-to-live. This new position carries new responsibilities. It is his duty not to thrust absolute pacifism down the throats of the millions who will soon be simply longing for peace. It is not his business to demand of them "Are you saved?" His business is to save them.

*This commentary, in common with other contributions appearing in "Peace News," must not be assumed necessarily to represent the views of the Peace Pledge Union.*

## Pacifists and Police : Deputation Sees Party Leaders

**A** DEPUTATION representing the National Peace Council and the National Council of Civil Liberties went on Tuesday to see Mr. C. R. Attlee and Sir Archibald Sinclair to discuss with them the question of police interference with peace activities.

The two organizations have been perturbed by recent cases of police intimidation mostly directed to Peace Pledge Union literature and meetings. While not wishing to exaggerate the incidents which have occurred, they are determined to resist strongly any arbitrary police action designed to interfere with the free expression of opinion.

The deputation thought it right to try and enlist the co-operation of the Opposition political leaders in urging the Government and the Home Office in particular to issue instructions which will set some restraint on the action of Chief Constables in this matter.

## Communications Abroad

Arrangements are being made whereby private persons may send communications to residents in Germany, Poland or Czechoslovakia through an authorized intermediary. It is hoped that these arrangements will be brought into force in a few weeks' time.

## Americans Vote for Peace Talks

**T**HE American Institute of Public Opinion has just put these two questions to a representative cross-section of the American public:

1. Would you favour a conference of the leading nations of the world to try to end the present war and settle Europe's problems?

2. If such a conference is called should the United States take part in it?

Sixty-nine percent of the people approached answered "Yes" to the first question, and 31 percent answered "No." Answers to the second questions were: "Yes," 50 percent; "No," 50 percent.

## Campaign for Peace Terms Goes Ahead

**T**HE campaign launched by the National Peace Council to encourage the Government to make a declaration of peace terms, and of its willingness to confer on such a basis, has already made considerable headway and a large number of copies of the appeal are being circulated throughout the country.

It should be emphasized that the appeal is not for signature by individuals but for endorsement by local organizations of all kinds. Individual peace workers can help, however, by bringing the appeal to the notice of local bodies, churches, chapels, political groups, co-operative guilds, &c., with which they are associated.

Peace News published last week a list of the prominent persons who are sponsoring the appeal. Since then the following names have been added: Professor V. H. Mottam, Professor G. H. C. MacGregor, Sir Hector Hetherington, Mr. G. Bernard Shaw, Miss Gwen Ffrangcon-Davies and Mr. Hugh Ross Williamson.

Copies of the appeal, separately printed as a leaflet, are now available at 1s. 6d. per 100, 10s. per 1,000, from the National Peace Council, 39 Victoria Street, London, W.V.I.



JAMES NORBURY discusses

# The Remaking of Man

**I**N my first article I tried to show you how the human race is stumbling to a dimly perceived light and how its progress is hampered by the fears that root it in a decaying conception of society.

A new society is being born and what is needed is the new man whose life pattern is a witness to the coming of world community. What is the new man?

The obvious answer is that he is a pacifist since peace belongs to the nature of things and is the active expression of the deepest desires of social man. There is, however, another aspect of this question that must be faced and that is that the new man is social man fully conscious of his historic destiny.

## "Social Man"

**L**ET us ponder over this idea of social man for a moment.

It is surely obvious to all of us that the only life man can know is social life. He cannot function apart from the community, for all his acts from the cradle to the grave are witnesses to his complete interdependence upon his fellow-members of the world community.

His food, his clothing and his shelter are all dependent upon labour power being expended to harness natural forces and transform raw materials into commodities that can contribute to his material well-being. His very habits have been formed through association with others and those habits must be educated to enable him to function as a useful citizen in world society.

What kind of education are we going to offer to the citizen of the future? Is he to be merely conditioned to be an immobile unit in a robot State, or is he to be an intelligent being capable of functioning in a highly organized democracy?

Are all his finer aspects to be stifled in order that he may remain an arrogant nationalist nursed in prejudice and wallowing in selfishness, or is he to be a cosmopolitan creature capable of embodying in his own conduct those values that are conducive to world community?

## Place of the Individual

**L**ET us glance at the stage-setting today and what do we find? Organized religion is proving itself to be the opium of the people, the State-administered dope to placate them into wholesale murder in the name of a bastard kind of righteousness.

It is true that many individuals are conscientiously striving to witness to the life-idea of the peace-maker of Nazareth, but this does not excuse the obvious fact that the organized churches are falling over each other to render tribute to a government that can only be designated as a war-mongering Caesar.

As I see it, man is moving toward a spiritual order, moving slowly and painfully because he is hampered so much by worn-out doctrine and threadbare dogma. He can, however, imaginatively know the new life and through its imaginative realization release himself into the life pattern of the new world order.

The new man, then, as I visualize him, will be one who knows that his individuality can only come to its fulfilment in community. He will recognize that his first obligation is toward the whole, and that the self must find its true place in the greater unity of a living fellowship.

We must recognize that the good life is the natural life for man, the kind of life every man wants to live once he has been freed from the burdens of economic exploitation and needless poverty.

I cannot offer you any short cuts to Utopia or cheap excursion tickets to the New Jerusalem. You are called upon to accept willingly the burden of yourself becoming a daily witness to this new life. It will call for the sacrifice of many of your

in his final article in our series, "Speaking Personally"

petty prejudices, a casting aside of most of your stupid conventions.

The only consolation I can offer you is that once you embark upon this journey all the forces in the universe are in your favour. You are moving with the stream of history and the dawn is already breaking in your soul.

## What We Must Do

**T**HE one thing I realize more and more as each day passes is the need for each of us to step aside from the frantic mob, to rid ourselves of war hysteria, in order to take stock of our own assets and liabilities.

You are not fighting against Nazism by surrendering to totalitarianism at home. The more we tread in that direction the more we shall have to retrace our steps. It was not a vast concourse who were called upon to save Sodom and Gomorrah from destruction but one just man.

Perhaps you are called upon to be the one just man who shall save the peoples of this generation from plunging wildly into a murderous orgy that will end in the City of Destruction.

Pacifism has got to become conscious of its historic destiny. It has got to bind together the disillusioned, the dissatisfied, the war-weary and the poverty-stricken masses if it is to be an effective peace-maker in the days that lie before us.

A gigantic wave of pity has got to sweep over the world, a wave of pity that will give us a sympathetic understanding of the birth pangs of a new society.

Pacifism is not enough if it is a false isolation, a thanking the false gods we are not as other men are. Pacifism can be

enough if we are willing to relate it to the war that takes place daily in the workshops and factories at home just as much as on the battlefields abroad. Out of it must arise a vital leadership. We must become as a Moses leading the dispossessed from bondage to the Land of Promise and Freedom.

## Our Goal

**T**HERE is a story told of how three Wise Men set out to seek a King who was the promised deliverer.

There was only a star to guide their stumbling feet and it led them not to a palace but to a manger. There their King lay, an innocent babe nestling on his mother's breast.

We, too, are called upon to make a journey. We, too, may only see a glimmer of light in the surrounding darkness. Our journey will end where theirs ended. We, too, shall see the challenge of social man in a mother suckling a helpless babe at her breast.

Truth or symbol of truth, it is the final revelation and tells more potently than drab treatises or dreary text-books the story of man's complete interdependence, of his need to discover himself as he truly is . . . a conscious member of world society.

Man must be remade. Social conditions must be created in which he can grow in wisdom and understanding. That is our task if we would be more than pacifists, if we will surrender ourselves to the joy of being peace-makers.

We shall inherit the earth, but our inheritance will be a social value. The lion will be lying down with the lamb and the sword will have been beaten into the ploughshare.

Jesus lived and laboured and died to witness to a Fellowship. Marx struggled and laboured in poverty to witness to a Community. What are you going to do to make that World Fellowship, which is the New Community, possible?

## "Disarmament Will Follow the War"

—HENRY FORD

**W**ORLD disarmament will come out of the present European upheaval, according to Henry Ford, the American motor magnate, in an interview published in the *Christian Science Monitor*.

Henry Ford added that there was something "phony" about the conflict on the Franco-German border. "It has been 'phony' from the start," he said.

"As a matter of fact, what should they be fighting about? Whom should they be fighting?"

Mr. Ford went on to reiterate his views on the futility of war as a means of settling any economic problem.

## "War Is Over"

"The peoples of Europe," he said, "have been regimented so long and so severely that they have presented fertile soil for the seeds of the war-makers. No country can fight a war if its people are not in a hostile mood. Fortunately a great many people know that no war ever accomplished anything."

"The war in Europe, what there was of it, is over, and chaos remains. It is a chaos out of which will come world disarmament, a thing that every honest thinking person earnestly desires."

## Have You a "Peace News" File?

Will any reader who has a complete file of *Peace News* please write to the Editor at 3, Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

## West Kent Mass Sales

In view of the success of the summer mass sales and the exceptional publicity value of *Peace News* in these times, it is proposed to continue the West Kent mass sellings throughout the winter. Tonbridge is to be visited on November 4 (3 p.m., Angel Corner), and other towns at intervals of one month. Volunteers for the Tonbridge sales should let Donald Port, 143 Singlewell Road, Gravesend, know of their intention to support so that he may estimate the number of copies required.

## LETTERS

### Nationalism and Imperialism Belligerents and Neutrals

**T**HE correspondence on nationalism and imperialism reminds me to ask you which came first, the hen or the egg?

Imperialism breeds national revolt as a natural reaction. When a country has obtained its independence (as the Slav countries did after the last war) the nationalism fostered by subjection becomes, as a rule, imperialistic itself. The problem is to break that circle.

This will not be done by saying of subject peoples in revolt: "Cet animal est très méchant—Quand on le bat il se défend."

For people in an imperialist country to sneer at nationalism and self-determination is bad tactics and something worse. Imperialism is itself a form of nationalism—the worst form—and international war only begins when nationalism becomes imperialistic. It is true that a nation which revolts against foreign domination may be said, superficially speaking, to have "started" a war; but the foreign domination itself is the cause of strife in a much more profound sense, as the old French couplet ironically illustrates.

So long as nationalism confines itself to the demand for independence and self-government it can no more cause a war by itself than two pedestrians colliding can cause a motor accident where there are no motors. The friction begins when someone develops imperialism—like Benes wanting the Sudeten Germans in his new State or Hitler who, when he had re-adjusted that little matter, had to incorporate the Czechs as well. Each side in turn practised imperialism—something more than nationalism.

This is not a defence of nationalism. It is inadequate at its best, because it does not solve the problem of class oppression and class war. And for that very reason it is dangerous at its worst, because where predatory interests guide the State successful nationalism so easily becomes imperialistic. Indeed, within our present economic system, this seems inevitable.

What, then is the remedy? Firstly, to oppose imperialism and war, without which imperialism is impossible. Secondly, to identify one's self with the just demands of nationalism (i.e., the claim for self-government). Thirdly, to show that national self-government is only the beginning of real emancipation, the means by which a country can tackle its social problems and achieve social and economic equality. Fourthly, to tell our nationalist friends that we support their demands not because we are nationalist but because we are internationalists, willing to forego unfair advantages because we believe in freedom and equality. That is the one chance of breaking the circle.

REGINALD REYNOLDS.

53 Cleveland Square, W.2.

**S**OME comparisons between 1914 and 1939 have cheered me a little and, in the hope that they may cheer others, I pass them on.

Soon after the outbreak of the earlier war, there were twelve Belligerent States in Europe; after seven weeks of declared war in 1939, there are still only three. I have had to include in the first war both Egypt and Greece, because they both counted on one side; but they were not willing Belligerents. Belgium I have omitted because, though she wished to be Neutral she was not permitted and was shortly eliminated.

The three Belligerents who were in both wars were Great Britain, France and Germany. There were in 1914 six honest-to-God Neutrals; this year there are thirteen. This year there are still ten States sitting on the fence, for one reason or another; after Italy and Rumania had been bought in the previous war, there were no Neutrals of that particular kind.

If this "Through-the-Looking-Glass" war goes on, doubtless some poor rickety States will be bribed to come off, or will be knocked off and swallowed up. But I maintain that up to now the result has been encouraging, because it really begins to look as if—in spite of the war-whoops of Press and Politicians—more men were finding that the notion of war is boring and ridiculous.

The speeches of politicians and the leading articles in the newspapers are strangely unlike the talk of the man (and even the woman) in the street.

H. M. SWANWICK.

Maidenhead.

## Austria Too

In the various proposals set forth in your paper and elsewhere for a peaceful and just settlement of European affairs, either now or in the future, I notice with surprise and regret the total absence of any mention of Austria.

The latter country is, equally with Czechoslovakia and Poland, a victim of German Nazi aggression. If you imagine that Austria is, or ever was, contented to be absorbed by Germany, I can only say that you are totally misled by the German propaganda at the time of the "Anschluss."

It is surely one of the principles of Pacifism to advocate just and equal treatment for all, and on these principles Austria should not be left out.

C. F. HRAUDA,

46 Lawrence Road, Hove.

## "False Premises"

**I** CAN assure Bro. A. E. Cummins that there are many reasons why it is impossible for me to have a short memory concerning the last war. For not only was I too a private in the line in France, Gallipoli and Egypt, but on my return, minus a leg, a "Grateful Country" twice put me in jail for delivering "A Message from the Trenches." Further, I have four sons, one now awaiting his tribunal and another approaching 18 years of age.

My assertion, to which I hold, was that those of us "who had done some hard thinking were appalled at the severity of the Peace terms," and if Bro. Cummins will carry his mind back he will have to admit that among the troops "Blighty" was a more desirable goal than Berlin to the majority, and if he tries hard he might recall the "Etapes Mutiny."

Bro. Cummins must be very simple if he thinks the British Legion represents anything but a small minority of the ex-Service Men of today. When it was formed the late Lord Haig said the object was to "Get the men back under their old officers" and explained the danger of "Bolshevism" among disgruntled ex-soldiers.

With very few exceptions Legion Branches are controlled in the interest of Conservatism and Reaction, the political "Wicked Uncles."

Anglo-German friendship was frowned upon so long as there was a Socialist government in Germany, and the sudden affection that sprang up for Hitler's Germany among the Legion Brass Hats smacked of Fascist propaganda to the majority of ex-Service men.

Of course, ex-Service men for the past 20 years have been just ordinary citizens, their minds have been subject to the influence of the press, wireless and cinema with imperialist bias, and you will find among them, as among the general public and in about the same proportions, conflicting political views and differing outlooks upon international affairs, but I am quite certain that those who have continued to do some hard thinking do not desire to see this war carried on to "crush Germany" and give us another "Versailles."

It was to combat the idea that we let Germany off lightly last time, an idea sedulously fostered by our militarists and believed by thousands of young folk who had no experience of the last war, that I wrote my article. We have got to go on combating that idea in order that peace shall not be discussed on arguments based upon "false premises."

JIM SIMMONS,

35 Tonbridge Road, Erdington, Birmingham 24.

We have space for only a few of the letters we receive.

Other things being equal, letters of about 200 words stand the best chance of publication.

**"Speaking Personally" is an open forum for the free expression of individual views on topics of current interest.**

Previous contributions have included Lord Ponsonby, Max Plowman, Vera Brittain, Ethel Mannin, and Leonard Barnes.



# A VOICE FROM THE BATTLEFIELDS OF 1918

by D. S. Savage

OF all the English poets who endured the War, none has given us so moving and so convincing a portrayal of that experience as has Wilfred Owen, who was killed, at the age of twenty-five on November 4, 1918.

The poems of Owen are in a way unique in English literature. I can call to mind no other poet who was so intimately involved in any catastrophic event as to merit such a description as that we apply to Owen, of "War Poet."

"Tennyson," he once wrote home, "was always a great child. So should I have been, but for Beaumont Hamel." And there is hardly a single poem of his which is not inspired through and through by the suffering of humanity in the face of war.

## Hated War

OWEN hated war, and loved his fellow men. The measure of his hatred for the first was the measure of his love for the second.

A sense of glory persists through his poems, but it is the glory, not of war, which cannot be other than foul and hateful, but of man's spirit, living through the suffering of warfare.

Owen tried to record the truth, the truth of his own experience.

If there was, as he said, "a certain sublimity" in the far-off noise of guns, he did not blink his eyes at the ugliness of the War: "Hideous landscapes, vile noises, foul language, and nothing but foul, even from one's own mouth (for all are devil-ridden)—everything unnatural, broken, blasted."

The concrete nature of Owen's poetry, its solid and immediate impact, spring from truthful recording of immediate experience.

## "Patriots" at Home

HE spoke continually of his desire to share in the sufferings of those at the Front. Indeed, in that war, the Front seemed pretty well the only place for any person of decency.

Owen felt, like many soldiers, no enthusiasm for the "patriots" in his own country. Like Sassoon, in his poem praying for a tank to lurch down upon the audience of a London theatre, where chorus girls pranced mocking the dead in Flanders, he "wished the Boche would have the pluck to come right in and make

a clean sweep of the pleasure boats, and the promenaders on the Spa, and all the stinking Leeds and Bradford war-profiters now reading *John Bull* on Scarborough Sands."

Writing to his mother, he says, on returning to France: "I came out in order to help these boys—directly by leading them as well as an officer can, indirectly by watching their sufferings that I may speak of them as well as a pleader can. I have done the first." In his great war poems (a dozen of them are truly great) he had done the second.

## His Warning

WILFRED OWEN'S table of contents for the volume of poems he was preparing at the time of his death "to strike at the conscience of England in regard to the continuance of the War" included the following memoranda scrawled under the heading "Motive," following certain poems:

How the Future will forget the dead in war: The unnaturalness of weapons. Inhumanity of war. Indifference at

Home. The insupportability of war; Horrible beastliness of war; Foolishness of war; and so on.

That war, at the continuance of which Owen's attack was directed, is still with us. In that same preface he wrote: "All a poet can do today is warn."

## Christ in "No-Man's-Land"

A FINAL paragraph from one of his letters.

"Already," wrote Owen from a hospital on the Somme in June, 1917, "I have comprehended a light which never will filter into the dogma of any national church; namely, that one of Christ's essential commands was: Passivity at any price! Suffer dishonour and disgrace, but never resort to arms. Be bullied, be outraged, be killed; but do not kill."

"It may be a chimerical and an ignominious principle, but there it is. It can only be ignored; and I think pulpit professionals are ignoring it very skilfully and success-

## The Voice

is the voice of Wilfred Owen, who was killed 21 years ago tomorrow—at the age of 25.

Wilfred Owen was a war poet. He went out to France, he said, "in order to help these boys—directly by leading them as well as an officer can, indirectly by watching their sufferings that I may speak of them as well as a pleader can."

At the time of his death he was preparing a volume of poems "to strike at the conscience of England in regard to the continuance of the War."

Read this article and you will see that the challenge to England's conscience is as urgent today as it was 21 years ago.

fully indeed . . . And am I not myself a conscientious objector with a very seared conscience?

"Christ is literally in 'no man's land.' There men often hear His voice: 'Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for a friend.' Is it spoken in English only and French? I do not believe so."

What are we to say: how can we answer this voice from the battlefields of 1918?

# WAR BRINGS FASCISM

(continued from page 1)

a written permit granted by such authority or person as may be specified in the order."

These are simply fascist measures such as *Peace News* warned its readers, at the time of the passing of the Emergency Powers Act, they might expect from such a Measure and such as pacifists have always emphasized are part of the price to be paid for going to war and one of the reasons for refusing to support that method of "settling" differences between nations.

Yet now—two months after the war method was allowed to come to its final expression (the actual outbreak of hostilities), and only a few days short of two months after the Order in Council was laid on the table of the House of Commons—a section of the press and of Parliament has "discovered a serious threat to the liberty of the subject" (to quote a *News Chronicle* foot-of-column paragraph on October 26).

The Order had only to lie unmolested on the table for 28 Parliamentary days to become law. To prevent that, Parliament would have had to pass a resolution annulling the Order before the time limit expired.

## Not Withdrawn

That time limit has now expired. And the debate which the Liberal Party initiated in the House as late as Tuesday of this week failed to produce the necessary annulment resolution.

The best the would-be champions of liberty could get was an undertaking by Sir Samuel Hoare (Lord Privy Seal) that "the Government would introduce the whole body of regulations again," amending them to some extent. The regulations "would then run for a period of 28 [Parliamentary] days, during which any hon. Members could move a prayer against them."

But the regulations would still operate, apparently, since Sir John Anderson (Home Secretary) stated that while the present regulations were still in that preliminary stage 35 persons had been detained by means of them.

In any case the present proposed regulations remain in force until replaced by the new ones.

There is also a form of safeguard, but apparently only against the detention orders. This consists of an Advisory Committee, to whom people who are arrested in this way can object.

The chairmen are Mr. Norman Birkett and Sir Walter Monckton—the chief censor!—and the other members are Professor Collinson, Sir A. Hazel, Dr. S. S. Mallon, and Miss Violet Markham. But that committee can do no more than advise the Secretary of State, which is no substitute for a judicial appeal.

Assurances were also given that the powers would not be "abused." But, as

Mr. Stanley Unwin reminds us, in a letter to *The Times* of October 31, people were sent to prison for expressions of opinion in the last war "despite the most categorical assurances of Ministers that the powers [granted under DORA] would not be misused."

In any case, it is difficult to understand how fascist powers could be "abused." Their use is fascism itself. Perhaps we are to understand by that that we shall not be subject to the very worst aspects and brutalities of Hitlerism.

It may well be that the Government's White Paper on the treatment of German nationals in Germany during the last two years was issued on Tuesday morning for the express purpose of making the Liberals' attack on our own form of fascism appear fatuous in the light of the fascism of those experienced in the regime.

## Official Hate-mongering

At all events the document will have served such a purpose as a mere incident in its main purpose of giving an official kick to the hate-mongering machine. It does not seem, on its own admission, to have been intended for any other purpose.

For it is pointed out that "so long as there was the slightest prospect of reaching any settlement . . . it would have been wrong to do anything to embitter relations between the two countries." Even after hostilities had begun, and until very recently, it was officially proclaimed in this country that we had no quarrel with the German people.

As the White Paper puts it, "the British Government felt reluctant to take action which might have the effect of inspiring hatred." Now presumably, they are not reluctant to inspire hatred. They have burnt their boats. They are content to embitter relations between the two countries because they deem that there is not the slightest prospect of reaching any settlement with the German Government.

**NEXT WEEK'S  
"Peace News"  
will be a special  
ARMISTICE  
ISSUE  
of 12 pages  
Order your copy early  
(See page 6.)**

## Only Defence

The only way, ultimately, to make a stand against restrictions on freedom is to insist on and exercise that freedom. And since the restrictions are, in the main, specifically designed to ensure full support for the war, to refuse such support is going to be the means of exercising our freedom. Yet no pacifist worthy of the name can stop there, even. He is no war-resister merely for the sake of opposing the majority of his fellows. He must be a peace maker.

Let us, then, insist upon our right and exercise our freedom as citizens of a democracy to oppose this war as a completely futile way of doing what even the majority want us to do—defending that democracy—as something which is in itself wrong—quite apart from all other considerations—and as preventing the coming of real peace by the only possible means—recognition of the essential oneness of mankind and solution of international problems on that basis.

**Humphrey S. Moore**

## WHY MEN FIGHT

IT is said that the poor man, when a soldier, fights for his wife and children and liberty. To this I answer, in the first place, that many take up arms who have neither wife nor children, and if they had I think they might render them much more service by working for them than fighting for them; and as to the poor man's liberties, all that he can expect in any nation in Europe which keeps a standing army and is generally in a state of warfare, is hard labour and high taxation, with implicit submission to all the sad variety of privations and burdens.

Rev. George Beaumont, *The Warrior's Looking-Glass*, 1908.

## "Impartiality" in the Press

THE *Manchester City News*, which Miss Vera Brittain cited in her article last week as one of the papers which have been misrepresenting the Peace Pledge Union has gone from bad to worse.

As Miss Brittain pointed out, it identified the PPU recently with both fascists and communists—no doubt in order to be on the safe side. When pacifists and non-pacifists alike wrote to protest against the paper's attitude, its editor only became more muddled.

"We publish the letters below" (three only), wrote he with dignity, "selected from a large number received, in accordance with the traditional *City News* policy of impartiality."

That, however, is apparently as far as tradition can be expected to go. For he added: "But impartiality does not extend to turning the 'C.N.' into a propaganda vehicle for defeatists and traitors."

Sounds good, although, if it isn't a glimpse of the obvious, it would appear to conceal some dark hints of the editor's private opinion of the "large number" of other writers. But what can he mean by adding, in the same sentence, that "no further assemblies of half-truths and childish falsehoods will be published"? (Our italics.)

Something seems to have gone wrong with the "traditional . . . impartiality," unless it is supposed to extend to turning the paper into a vehicle for (a selection of) "assemblies of half-truths and childish falsehoods."



# London C.O.s' Tribunal Decision Results in Protest to Premier

## BUT ATTITUDE REMAINS SEVERE

A LETTER expressing "profound disappointment at the method employed by the West London conscientious objectors' tribunal in arriving at their decision in the case of Mr. John Priest" has been sent to the Premier, the Minister of Labour, and the MP for Brentford and Chiswick, Mr. Harold Mitchell, by members of the Chiswick group of the Peace Pledge Union.

### How They Were Dealt With

THE following is an analysis of the decisions reached by the London tribunal for conscientious objectors from its first session on October 3 up to last Friday:

- Placed unconditionally on the Register of Conscientious Objectors: 6.
- Placed on the COs' Register conditional upon performance of work of civilian character under civilian control (specified by the tribunal): 105.
- Placed on the Military Service Register for non-combatant duties only: 115.
- Placed unconditionally on the Military Service Register: 79.

## First Session of Leeds Tribunal

THE tribunal for the North-Eastern Division began its work at Leeds on Monday of last week, and also sat on the Tuesday. Following is an analysis of the tribunal's decisions:

- Placed unconditionally on the Register of Conscientious Objectors: 2.
  - Placed on the Conscientious Objectors' Register conditional upon performance of work of a civil character under civilian control (specified by the tribunal): 9.
  - Placed on the Military Service Register for non-combatant duties only: 4.
  - Placed unconditionally on the Military Service Register: 2.
- In addition, three cases were referred to the Hardship Committee; one application was withdrawn; and one decision was deferred for the time being.

### No Sympathy

Our observer writes:

The chairman (Judge Stewart) made his attitude quite clear: he wished to be just to the conscientious objector, but he had no sympathy with his refusal to fight. His colleagues appeared bewildered and uncomfortable; one sensed that the conscientious objector was to them a strange animal outside their personal experience.

The judge made great play with the Friends' Ambulance Unit of the last war, using it as a lever to make conscientious objectors agree to some form of ambulance service.

Many of the questions appeared irrelevant—the old one about an attack on one's sister, little brother or mother, &c., being used frequently.

The conscientious objector fearing a trap, appeared to show a callousness for the sufferings of his relatives that did not altogether strengthen his case. The same was true of a question that was put over and over again—"Would you help a wounded soldier as a civilian?" The answer is surely obvious—the pacifist would help anyone of his own free will—but many conscientious objectors were evasive and tardy in replying.

### Hadn't Thought It Out

It was clear that many applicants, while hoping to get complete exemption, were actually ready to "do something," but they had not honestly faced up to what that "something" should be. It would be as well for applicants to settle this issue before appearing before the tribunal, and to be ready to state clearly what they will do and where they draw the line.

Again, a respectful demeanour is advisable and an entire absence of that youthful jauntiness which can be so irritating to older people.

The Christian applicant—accompanied by a minister—has a far better chance of exemption than the ethical objector. Yet, were the free-thinker applicant without conscience, he could adopt Christianity as well as pacifism if it suited his purpose! I would ask that special attention be paid to verdicts given in such cases, with a view to helping the applicants at the appeal tribunal.

Reference must be made to the responsibility that rests on those pacifists who sit in court. Hostile demonstration, whether overt or covert, do the applicant no good.

In conclusion, I would pay a tribute to the courage and bearing of the great majority of the applicants.

An effective illustrated poster in black and white carrying the wording "Jesus said 'Love Your Enemies, Bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you'—Is war forgiving?" has been re-issued by the Peace Committee of the Society of Friends, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1, and the Northern Friends' Peace Board, Spring Bank, Rawdon, near Leeds.

It was reported in *Peace News* last week that Mr. Priest had been removed unconditionally from the Register of Conscientious Objectors, undue weight having been given by the tribunal to his political views at the expense of his obviously sincere moral and ethical grounds for objecting to military service.

"In our opinion," adds the letter of protest, "based upon the accounts of separate observers, Mr. John Priest's grounds for his conscientious objection to military service were not properly taken into consideration by the tribunal, who conceded the sincerity of Mr. John Priest's political conviction but who ignored evidence of the other objections advanced by Mr. John Priest, although he had them available."

"We wish to protest that this conduct on the part of the tribunal is in direct contradiction to the pledges given by the Prime Minister and the Minister of Labour and National Service in regard to the powers and duties of the tribunals set up under the Military Training Act and the National Service (Armed Forces) Act of 1939."

### Tribunal's Attitude Hardens

Meanwhile an observer who was present at a sitting of the tribunal on Friday considered that their attitude was hardening, both in the unfairness of the questions and in their decisions. An observer at the Wednesday session considered that a more moderate tone prevailed.

Mr. Swales, the trade unionist member of the tribunal, seemed to be unhappy about the tribunal's attitude in some cases.

On both days, however, even in cases which any unbiased person must have admitted clearly showed conscientious objection, only conditional exemption was given.

One exception was the case of Mr. George D. Piper, who obtained complete exemption, largely, no doubt, on account of the fact that he had given up his employment in the Civil Service. Possibly his excellent record as a PPU worker also impressed the tribunal. There was a good deal of applause at the decision and the chairman ordered a young woman, who had been warned before, to leave.

### Alternative Service

It should be pointed out, incidentally, that the right of the public to attend the sessions of these tribunals must obviously carry with it the obligation to refrain from expressing one's own opinions—just as one expects the tribunal members themselves to do.

The tribunal appears now definitely to have fixed on agriculture, forestry, or the mercantile marine as the forms of alternative service. In these cases such work must be undertaken within one month.

### Ambulance Unit Has No Link With Quakers

Some conscientious objectors appearing before tribunals have been offered exemption conditional upon their joining the Friends' Ambulance Unit.

On behalf of the Manchester Peace Committee of the Society of Friends, William H. Ashmore writes to point out that, as the Society found itself unable to comply with a request from the Ministry of Labour to set up an organization to provide alternative forms of service for COs, "it is somewhat anomalous that an organization having no official connexion with the Society and having no authority from the Society to use its name should now be used by the Tribunals as a condition of exemption."

"As the Society of Friends," he adds, "in its official statements has made it clear that it will not be involved in any scheme to facilitate conscription we should regret it if there were any misapprehension as to the relations between the Society of Friends and the Friends' Ambulance Unit."



Some of the women who took part in the peace marches through the West End of London on Tuesday and Wednesday last week.

See story in next column.

## "Prearranged Plan" at Birmingham?

THE Birmingham Tribunal met on Monday for the first time since July 27.

Cases were dealt with as follows:  
Placed unconditionally on the Register of COs: 2. (One of these had, in addition to conscientious objection, a medical certificate of serious disability; the other was a theological student).  
Placed on the COs' Register conditional upon performance of work of a civil character under civilian control: 16.  
Placed on the Military Service Register for non-combatant duties only: 3.

### Complete Exemption Avoided

Our observer at this tribunal writes:

It seemed to me that most decisions were given according to a prearranged plan, based on type of present occupation, and that unconditional exemption was avoided whenever possible.

The method of questioning was usually first to suggest to the applicant types of non-combatant military service, but it was not made clear that all these involved enlistment in the army. If non-combatant service was rejected, some kind of conditional exemption was given.

A case of special importance was that of Mr. H. L. Dunn, secretary in a catering business and a member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. He refused alternative service and claimed unconditional exemption. Mr. Norman Carr, a well-known Birmingham barrister, who is chairman of the local FoR branch, appeared in this case.

The tribunal decided to grant exemption only on condition of performance of alternative service under the Ministry of Labour.

### Decision to be Reviewed

Later Mr. Carr again approached the tribunal and asked if they would reconsider the case. This request was granted and a long conversation ensued. It appeared that none of the members of the tribunal had ever considered that such cases were eligible for absolute exemption. The chairman disallowed the reading of the Premier's speech when introducing the original Act.

Finally they agreed to adjourn the case until next week, it being accepted that Mr. Dunn's objection to alternative service was a valid conscientious objection. The decision in this case will be of great importance.

The objections put forward at this session were all based on religious or humanitarian grounds, none being primarily political, and there was no difficulty in getting their genuineness accepted.

## Despite The Police

## THEY MARCHED FOR PEACE

PASSERS-BY in Theobalds Road and Holborn on Tuesday of last week were electrified to see a long chain of banners borne by women who were out to appeal to men to stop the war, for the sake of the children everywhere.

The parade stretched out of sight and as the foremost banner came in view people stood rooted with varying expressions. Some men scowled and said "Hitler will be pleased at this," and others said "Stop the War. Wish we could Ma'am."

The parade on the Wednesday was accompanied by a huge and very benevolent sergeant in a blue steel helmet. The police in Kingsway, where the parade assembled, had got wind of the second effort and a constable met the leader with the statement that the parade would not be allowed.

She demanded, very rightly, to know what new regulation they were infringing and so pressed the matter that reference was made to police headquarters for orders.

Thereupon appeared the "escort" and the parade was piloted without further opposition. Thus was a civil liberty upheld by a handful of women.

The public, whether pacific or anxious to fight to the end, all showed respect for the sincerity of the women's demonstration.

The parades are getting longer and longer each time they are held. The next London effort will be much more ambitious.

## "G.L." to Speak at Two Armistice Meetings

MR GEORGE LANSBURY, MP, President of the Peace Pledge Union, will be speaking at two peace meetings on Armistice Day.

A meeting arranged by the Women's Co-operative Guild will start in the Central Hall, Westminster, at 2 p.m. Other speakers will be Mrs. Theo. Naftel (Secretary of the International Co-operative Women's Guild); Mr. James H. Hudson; and Miss Rose Simpson (Secretary of the Women's Co-operative Guild).

As announced a fortnight ago, the Council of Christian Pacifist Groups will hold a devotional meeting in Kingsway Hall at 3 p.m. on Armistice Day, at which Mr. Lansbury will also speak. The chairman will be Dr. Donald O. Soper, and other speakers will be Miss E. O. Comber and the Rev. Prof. Herbert H. Farmer.

Professor Charles Raven, who has in past years presided at meetings held in the Central Hall, will this year conduct a devotional meeting at Holy Trinity Church, Upper Tooting, at 3.30 p.m. on the same afternoon.

(Other Armistice Day meetings—see page 7.)

## WHERE TO GET WHITE PEACE POPPIES

White Poppies have been worn by pacifists on previous Armistice Days as a peace emblem. In many cases they have been worn at the same time as red poppies.

White Poppies, costing 1½d. each, may be obtained from the Women's Co-operative Guild, Shrewsbury Co-operative Society's Guildroom, Castle Foregate, Shrewsbury.

### More Student Pacifists

The Reading University Branch of the University Pacifist Federation reports that its membership has already doubled since last session.

## Pacifists Call "Bluff" of Police Ban

FOLLOWING the police ban on a meeting it had planned to hold recently (as reported in *Peace News*) Bournemouth group of the Peace Pledge Union held a crowded public meeting on Monday night in the same hall in which the original meeting was to have been held.

Here is the story of the ban, and its sequel, as told to *Peace News* by Mr. K. Digby, a barrister who spoke at the meeting as a representative of the National Council for Civil Liberties:

"On Saturday, October 7, the Chief Constable of Hampshire banned a meeting of the Bournemouth PPU on the grounds that it was likely to cause a breach of the peace. The National Council for Civil Liberties was consulted, and, on being informed that there was no real likelihood of a breach of the peace, the Council

advised that the ban was illegal and should be resisted."

"On October 14, the Bournemouth PPU held an excellent poster parade protesting against the ban, and on Monday a very successful public meeting, at which John Barclay was the principal speaker, was held in the same hall in which the banned meeting had been advertised to take place.

### "Call Police Bluff"

"The moral of this story is that if local branches are vigorous enough to contest unauthorized police actions, the work of the Peace Pledge movement can be successfully carried on.

"In many parts of the country today attempts are being made by the police to suppress pacifist propaganda by methods which amount to nothing more than dishonest bluff. It is time the bluff was called and the Bournemouth PPU has clearly shown the way."



## Week-by-Week News of the Peace Pledge Union

### Free Entertainment for Basque Children

THERE was once a row, we are told, in Margate. A lady missed her handbag in a cinema and accused some Basque children sitting near. She made a big scene and then found she hadn't lost her bag at all, but it took a long time for the stigma to remove from the Basque children in that town.

This was in the early days. Now we have just heard that one of our own señoritas who went to Margate has successfully coaxed the manager of a local luxury cinema to admit free six Basque children every Wednesday.

Moya and Fernin, two of our "gamins," have been discovered ironing their own shirts; two Colchester friends have visited the children and "received a truly Spanish and slightly overpowering welcome and send off"; these are jots from recent letters.

Most pleasant of all, we have to thank cordially those friends who, although the times are difficult, have sent gifts in response to our recent appeals; in particular, the anonymous friend whom we cannot thank by letter.

The appeal itself still stands. Please do not forget the children in charge of Señor Landa, Laleham School, Margate. They are well cared for except that food and clothes are short.

T. W.

### Civil Service Peace Group Formed

A Civil Service Peace Group was inaugurated at a meeting in the Kingsway Hall, London, last week.

It was suggested that the group should not be restricted to members of the Peace Pledge Union, but should include all pacifists.

A committee was elected, which will consist of 18 members and the officers, to make suggestions to the next meeting regarding organization and work of the group. The next meeting has been arranged for November 8 at 5.30 p.m. in the Kingsway Hall.

It is a national group, and it is hoped to arrange gatherings in central towns. Anyone interested should get into touch with the provisional secretary, Mr. D. H. Brims, 13 Paternoster Row, London, E.C.1.

## IN DEFENCE OF LIBERTY!

By John Barclay

THERE are signs that the Peace Pledge Union is attracting to itself many who have not in the past realized the fact that the pacifist is defending the freedom and liberty for which they themselves are advocates. Very little divides us from a great body of men and women who are in all but one particular pacifists. If this gap could be bridged and contact made secure, a new hope would rapidly spread and the future outlook would become much brighter.

It is only the pacifist who can build the bridge. We must not wait for the others to come to us but must demonstrate by our willingness to sacrifice and by faith in our methods that the road we are taking is both durable and theirs. An example of what I mean has just occurred and the thanks of the whole Movement should go to the Bournemouth group of the Peace Pledge Union, which has demonstrated so finely the attitude to be adopted.

Let me briefly reiterate the facts. Without warning on October 12 a meeting arranged by them was forbidden by the police seven hours before it was due to take place. The reason given, after some hesitation, was that they feared it might cause a "breach of the peace." Defying the ban, the meeting was held in another hall and a very successful poster parade of more than forty persons was organized and carried out two days later.

#### The Group Secretary's Weekly Notes

Finally, on October 30, a meeting was held in the hall previously banned on the same subject and with the same speaker as originally advertised. In addition to the PPU speaker on the platform at this meeting, was Mr. Kemeln Digby, of the National Council for Civil Liberties. The chairman was Mr. T. W. Ward of the Bournemouth Labour Party. The hall was packed and no interruption or breach of the peace occurred.

★

Once again freedom of speech and liberty of action has been defended by the only means by which they can be defended. Mrs. Laurie, the Regional Organiser, was responsible and she and those who helped her, both in the poster parade and the arrangements are to be congratulated on proving that they support the now familiar slogan "Freedom is in danger; defend it with all your might!" (PPU version.)

That, in short, is the "Bournemouth case" and its importance cannot be exaggerated at this time. It is only necessary to add one suggestion; I believe that every member of the Peace Pledge Union should send a donation to the National Council for Civil Liberties as a recognition that their struggle is our struggle and by this practical means demonstrate that the PPU is anxious and willing to build the bridge which separates lovers of liberty from its defenders. Only by these means shall we save those things which we all agree must not be destroyed.

### University News

#### New Session Meeting at Oxford

ON October 18, to the first Oxford University Pacifist Association meeting of the new academic year, Eric Gill gave an address on "Can there be a just war?" It was a hopeful sign that at the meeting there was one of the biggest crowds that have ever attended. He traced the origins of war to primeval robbery, and was of the opinion that though there might be a just war under ideal conditions, especially a defensive war, such a contingency was impossible in the world as it now is. What little criticism there was came from those who attacked the Roman Catholic position from the absolute pacifist position rather than as non-pacifists.

Mr. R. G. S. Rutherford addressed the OUPA on October 25 on "Political Pacifism." It was a vigorous speech, and he said some hard things about the Christian pacifists in particular. He suggested that instead of pacifists trying to stop the war now, our duty was to gain the respect of the public for our intelligence and sincerity, and step into the political field as a political party at the end of the war, when conditions would be ripe for us. This policy and his remarks about Christian pacifists caused a lively discussion, which was brought to a close only by lack of time.

On November 1 the OUPA will hold a Mock Tribunal.

#### Any Young Pacifists in Oxford?

Miss Elizabeth A. King, an Oxford pacifist, who is too young to join the Peace Pledge Union, wishes to meet other pacifists in Oxford who are of similar age, so that group propaganda activity may be undertaken.

Miss King feels the necessity for starting a "junior branch" and had previously collected a few people with similar hopes. These have now been separated by force of circumstance, however, and she hopes that another group may be built up. Her address is 123 Woodstock Road, Oxford.

## What the Groups Are Doing

INCREASED activity and interest are evident in Lincoln. A series of meetings in villages was held throughout the summer, culminating in one glorious day when, in the crisis a week before the outbreak of war, thirteen members packed into two cars and spoke in five nearby villages.

The Lincoln Labour Exchange was picketed during the last registration with the result that ten COs were traced. Already three Mock Tribunals have been held, and more will follow. A fund has been started for the assistance of a member who gave up his job when he discovered that it was war work.

One of the most encouraging signs of progress has been the formation of new discussion teams. When war broke out there were only two in Lincoln; in another week there will be four, viz.—North-West Lincoln, every Monday, 7 p.m., at 102 Yarborough Road; South Lincoln, every Tuesday, 7 p.m., at 218 Rookery Lane; St. Giles, every Tuesday, 7 p.m., at 41 Addison Drive; East Lincoln, first meeting on November 9, 7 p.m., in the Methodist Chapel, Walmer Street, Monks Road.

In addition to these the Lincoln branch of the FoR now holds short devotional meetings every alternate Wednesday, at 7 p.m., in the Friends' Old Meeting House, Park Street. The next is on November 15.

#### Selling in Oldham

VOLUNTEERS are required for mass selling of *Peace News* in Oldham on Armistice Day. They should meet at the Dick Sheppard Centre, 13a Manchester Street, Oldham, from 2.30 p.m. onwards.

#### Birmingham Mass Selling

THERE will be a mass street selling in Birmingham on Armistice Day. Sellers will meet at 2.30 p.m. at Dick Sheppard House, 36 Holloway Head. The Birmingham *Peace News* Committee hopes for a hundred sellers, and urges members to make sure of this number.

Names of those able to take part should be sent to Connie M. Jones, 39 Cranbrook Road, Birmingham 21, by Wednesday, November 8. Tea will be served at 5 p.m. but sellers should bring their own food.

#### Hull Peace Centre

THERE are two regular weekly gatherings at the Peace Centre, 64, Prospect Street, Hull. Every Tuesday, at 7.30 p.m. there is a social gathering intended mainly as a means of getting to know each other.

A discussion meets every Thursday at 7.45 p.m. with an average attendance of 35. Recent talks have been based on permanent peace, and there have been heartening discussions on "Freer Trade," "Can Nationalism and Internationalism Mix?" "Are Colonies Necessary?" and "Wanted—A Minister of Leisure."

#### Leaflets in Oldbury

THE Oldbury group now meets every Thursday at 8 p.m. at the Warley Institutional Church, Pound Road. Since the outbreak of war the group has held weekly meetings and the attendances have been good.

Several members have been out nearly every evening distributing leaflets in connexion with the Stop-the-War Campaign. Several thousand of the first and second leaflet has been distributed and they now await a supply of No. 3.

THE Shipley Group which started in June of this year with 17 members, it now has an average of 30 at every meeting, and the figure improves week by week.

We mentioned just lately how members of this group sold 60 copies of *Peace News* in one hour. They have still followed this up with another selling, when they sold the same number of copies in ninety minutes.

#### Expansion in Cornwall

THE last month has seen a great increase in the activities of the PPU groups in Cornwall. There are now five active groups and in the near future it is hoped to double this number.

Most groups are meeting regularly once a week or once a fortnight, and most of them report an increase in attendance.

A. J. K. Radford, 7 Albany Road, Redruth, would be glad to hear from members who have not yet a group in their vicinity and are willing to help in the formation of a new group.

#### Sutton Mass Selling

MEMBERS of the Sutton group are carrying out a mass selling of *Peace News* every Saturday from 4.30 p.m. onwards outside the County Cinema. Volunteers are needed.

#### Bromley District Campaign

AT a recent meeting of the Bromley group it was decided to carry out an extensive *Peace News* and leaflet campaign in the Bromley district. There was a good response to the request for *Peace News* sellers; 2,000 leaflets were distributed.

John Barclay will be speaking at a public meeting in the YMCA Hall, 13 London Road, Bromley, at 3 p.m. tomorrow (Saturday), and this meeting will be preceded by a poster parade and leaflet distribution. Names of members willing to give assistance in this parade should be sent to Mr. Lever, 114 Knapmill Road, Bellingham, S.E.6.

#### Manchester Young People's Fellowship

THE Fallowfield and Withington (Manchester) groups have formed a Young People's Fellowship. A committee was formed consisting of a few members from each group and several other friends and they drew up and had printed a leaflet headed "Let the 'Light in' on the Blackout," inviting young people to come along to the first gathering on October 18. One thousand copies were distributed by hand to houses in the neighbourhood.

The result was most encouraging. About 100 people turned up for the first meeting and thoroughly enjoyed the dancing, games and songs.

It was decided to hold a weekly meeting, and everyone present agreed to contribute 3d. per week toward expenses.

#### Newcastle and District Meetings

FOLLOWING a meeting of representatives of the Northern Advisory Bureau on Monday of last week, Norman Bolam and Denis Hayes addressed a meeting of Methodists at Wallsend on the Wednesday.

On the following day the PPU held a Preregistration meeting for COs which was addressed by Dr. Arthur Raistrick and attended by about 60 young men.

Dr. Raistrick was also the speaker at a High

Heaton meeting on the Friday, when he spoke on "Raw Materials and the Nations."

On Saturday afternoon a meeting of the Newcastle PPU was attended by 120 members, and the speaker was Mr. Hilditch.

#### Oxford Advisory Bureau

THE Oxford City group recently established a Pacifist Advisory Bureau at 1 Saunders Passage, Broad Street. The bureau is open for inquiries on Mondays, Wednesdays and Saturdays from 5 to 7 p.m.

*Peace News* is sold regularly at Carfax, and sales have more than quadrupled since war commenced. Open-air meetings are being held with success every Sunday at 6 p.m. in St. Giles.

#### Weekly Bristol Meetings

BRISTOL meetings held in the Horsefair on Saturday afternoons continue to attract increased attention. Last weekend Mr. W. J. Parkin, ex-soldier of the Great War, after two solid hours on the platform—questions, speech, questions—replied to a demand as to what advice he would give a young man of military age—"I would advise him to think for himself."

He was followed by another ex-soldier in Mr. L. O. Brown, who quickly won the quiet interest of the crowd, though handicapped by a persistent heckler at the start.

Men of all ages were in the audience. Girls and women pushing perambulators, burdened with shopping baskets, stood for hours. W. J. P. was on his feet again before the close of the meeting, which only broke up when it was too dark to continue.

#### New Sunbury-on-Thames Group

A GROUP has been formed to cover Sunbury-on-Thames and district—with an advisory bureau—under the leadership of W. G. Millman. The group headquarters and rest room at 11 French Street is open daily for inquiries, and meetings will be held on Tuesdays until further notice at the same address.

#### Crowded Brighton Meeting

A CROWDED meeting of Brighton members heard John Barclay lecture last week. He heaped ridicule on the frequent assertion of British statesmen that the war must go on because Hitler's word could not be trusted. "Must millions be killed," he asked, "because one fanaticist upstart cannot be relied upon?"

Mr. Barclay declared that we should behave like normal people and realize that Hitler was, after all, only a man. We should strive by every means within our power to get in touch with the German people, who hated war as much as we did.

It was decided to hold a public meeting as soon as possible.

#### Pacifists Invade Lindfield

THE first pacifist meeting in Lindfield was held recently in Barrington House, the late residence of Marquis of Tavistock. The Rev. C. Paul Gliddon spoke on the Christian attitude to the present war. The Vicar of Lindfield (Rev. Daunton Fear) was chairman.

About 40 people stayed to tea and informal discussion.

#### Putney Open-Air Meetings

THE Putney group holds open-air meetings on the Tow Path at Putney every Sunday morning at 11.30.

## HELP US TO MEET THIS SHOCK!

LAST weekend we had a shock: the price of newsprint shot up from £11 5s. a ton to £17 a ton. And further shocks may be in store. If so, they will probably come without warning—like this one did.

The result of this announcement is that the current issue of *Peace News* consists of eight pages, instead of the twelve pages we would have wished. It will probably become impossible to produce a twelve-page paper while present conditions last.

Next week, however, we have decided to use up a small stock of paper at our disposal in producing a special twelve-page Armistice issue.

In return we would impress upon readers, and particularly upon groups ordering quantities for meetings, the vital importance of sending their orders early. Sellers can help to avoid waste by gauging their requirements as accurately as possible.

It is obvious that to produce even an eight-page paper will now mean a heavier financial burden. For that reason we are particularly grateful to those who have been rallying to the support of the *Peace News* Fund. (This fund was launched to help to release for some other branch of the Peace Pledge Union's activity the subsidy at present paid to *Peace News*.)

As announced last week, the very heavy demands on our space have obliged us, though with reluctance, to discontinue the practice of acknowledging contributions in *Peace News*. Individual acknowledgments are, however, being sent to subscribers.

This week the fund has received a further £9 12s. 11d., which brings the total up to £306 1s. 2d. We recognize that some of these contributions have entailed a real sacrifice. More than ever, however, they are needed and appreciated.

Donations of any size will be welcomed. Cheques should be made payable to *Peace News*, Ltd., and not the Peace Pledge Union, and should be addressed to 3, Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

And now for some good news; last week 36,283 copies of "*Peace News*" were printed; by Tuesday afternoon only about 1,500 remained in our hands.



## Dates for Your Diary

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organizers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

### Today (Friday)

**LONDON, W.C.1;** 6.30 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; Mock Tribunal; Fellowship of Conscientious Objectors.  
**LONDON, W.C.1;** 8 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; Andrew Stewart on "Our Task Now"; PPU.

### Tomorrow (Saturday)

**LONDON, E.C.4;** 2.15 p.m. Beaver Hall, Cannon Street; delegate conference on "Civil Liberty in Wartime"; W. H. Thompson (chairman), Professor Harold J. Laski, Robert Willis and A. S. Comyns Carr; National Council for Civil Liberties, 320 Regent Street, London, W.1.  
**LONDON, W.C.2;** 2.15 p.m. 9 Hop Gardens, St. Martin's Lane; Rev. Gilbert Shaw; Anglican Pacifist Fellowship.  
**WOOD GREEN;** 2.30 p.m. Spouters Corner; Mass selling of Peace News followed by open-air meeting at 4 p.m.; PPU.  
**WESTMINSTER;** 3 p.m. Central Hall; Very Rev. F. D. V. Narborough, Rev. Leslie Weatherhead, Rev. Herbert Gray, Rev. A. D. Belden and R. R. Stokes (chairman); organized by representative group of London Ministers.  
**WORCESTER;** 5.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Sansome Walk; Rev. W. E. J. Lindfield on "Militant Pacifism, a new Technique"; PPU.  
**TOTTENHAM;** 6 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, 594 High Road; Rev. A. D. Belden on "Christianity and the War"; PPU.  
**YSTRADGYNLAIS;** 7 p.m. Aion Chapel, Richard Bishop and Welsh speaker; PPU.

### Sunday, November 5

**NORTHAMPTON;** 8.30 a.m. Friends' Meeting House, Wellington Street; monthly breakfast (bring own food); address by Datta V. Tahmankar on "Spirit of Gandhi-ism"; PPU.  
**OLDBURY;** 2.45 p.m. Warley Institutional Church, Pound Road; Wilfred Wellock, Rev. David Richards and Alderman B. R. Robbins (chairman); PPU.  
**LONDON, W.C.1;** 3 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; George Padmore on "The Emancipation of the Coloured Peoples"; Fellowship of Conscientious Objectors.  
**UXBRIDGE;** 3 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, York Road; Mock Tribunal (public); and on successive Sundays until further notice; prospective candidates should apply to James A. Brown, El-Largani, 2 Corwell Lane, Hillingdon, Middlesex.  
**UPPER TOOTING;** 3.30 p.m. Holy Trinity Church, Trinity Road; Stuart Morris on "Christ and Peace".  
**SHEFFIELD;** 7 p.m. Dick Sheppard Centre, 30a Change Alley; Fellowship Meeting; Rev. Perry Mitchinson on "Pacifist Leadership"; PPU.

### Monday, November 6

**GUILDFORD;** 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Ward Street; debate on "Pacifism and Collective Security"; PPU.  
**EWELL, Surrey;** 8 p.m. Ewell Parish Church Room; Andrew Stewart and H. Cecil Heath; chairman: Rev. C. G. Holland; PPU.  
**HORNSEY;** 8 p.m. Willoughby Road Methodist Church; "Christ and Peace"; Dr. A. Herbert Gray and Rev. D. A. Griffiths; Methodist Peace Fellowship.

### Tuesday, November 7

**TOWER HILL;** 12.30 p.m. Open-air meeting; Stuart Morris; City PPU group.  
**TEWKESBURY;** 7 p.m. Town Hall; public meeting for formation of peace group; Rev. C. Paul Gliddon, Laurence Housman and Canon E. P. Gough (chairman); "Can War Be Christian?"  
**CAMBRIDGE;** 7.45 p.m. Wesley Library, King Street; Intercession Service; 8.30 p.m. High Heywood on "Reconciliation"; FoR.  
**BOURNEMOUTH;** 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Avenue Road; Ebechard Arnold on "Community in Peace and War"; chairman W. Martin Andrew; PPU.

### Wednesday, November 8

**KINGSWAY;** 5.30 p.m. Kingsway Hall; meeting of the Civil Service Peace Group; chairman: Mr. Albon.

**NOVEMBER 11, AT 3 p.m.**  
**CHRIST AND PEACE**  
 A Devotional Meeting.  
 Chairman:  
 The Rev. DONALD O. SOPER, Ph.D.  
 Speakers:  
 Rt. Hon. GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P.  
 Miss E. O. COMBER.  
 Rev. Prof. HERBERT H. FARMER, D.D.  
**Kingsway Hall, Kingsway, W.C.2.**  
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**EXMOUTH;** 6.15 p.m. YMCA, Victoria Road; Rev. Donald Fraser; PPU.  
**BRISTOL;** 7 p.m. Totterdown Baptist Church, Wells Road; Rev. F. M. Cooper on "Questions for Pacifists"; Christian Pacifist Group and PPU.  
**BURNLEY;** 7 p.m. Co-operative Hall, Hammer-ton Street; Mary Gamble, Alderman R. Bland and Mrs. Horrocks (chairman); Women's Co-operative Guild and PPU.  
**GLASGOW;** 7 p.m. 70 Robertson Street; Central branch meeting; No Conscription League.  
**BOSCOMBE (Bournemouth);** 7.30 p.m. Temperance Hall, Haviland Road; Mrs. Elsie Goodwin; PPU.  
**EDGBASTON (Birmingham);** 7.30 p.m. Church of the Redeemer, Hagley Road (near Ivy Bush); John S. Hoyland on "Federal Union of Europe"; PPU.  
**RICHMOND;** 7.45 p.m. Cadena Cafe, George Street; Stuart Morris, Mark Shirley and Reginald Harris (chairman); "Are You Preparing for Peace?"; PPU.

### Thursday, November 9

**WOLVERHAMPTON;** 7.30 p.m. YWCA Club, Penn Road; Stuart Morris and Rev. J. W. Barnsley; PPU.  
**NEW BARNET;** 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Leicester Road; Rev. A. E. Beiden; PPU.

### Friday, November 10

**LONDON, W.C.1;** 8 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; John McNair on "The French Pacifist-Socialist Movement"; PPU.

### ARMISTICE DAY

### Saturday, November 11

**SHEFFIELD;** 1.15 p.m. Sunshine Cafe, Orchard Street; peace luncheon; guests: Lady Mabel Smith and Cecil Wilson; PPU.  
**WESTMINSTER;** 2 p.m. Central Hall; George Lansbury, Mrs. Theo Nafelt, James H. Hudson, and Miss Rose Simpson; Women's Co-operative Guild.  
**KETERING;** 2.30 p.m. Trade Union Offices, Club Street; one-day school to conclude with social; Wilfred Wellock and Rev. W. Cauldwell (chairman); PPU.  
**BLACKBURN;** 3 p.m. YMCA; Intercessions for Christian Peace; Rev. A. Knowles, F. J. Parkinson, Rev. G. Arnold West on "The Nature of Christian Peace"; Blackburn Pacifist Council.  
**GLASGOW;** 3 p.m. Lyric Theatre, Sauchiehall Street; Vera Brittain; Women's International League.  
**KINGSWAY;** 3 p.m. Kingsway Hall; devotional meeting; "Christ and Peace"; Rev. Donald O. Soper (chairman), George Lansbury, Miss E. O. Comber and Professor Herbert H. Farmer; Council of Christian Pacifist Groups.  
**SHEFFIELD;** 3 p.m. Holy Trinity Church, Wicker; peace service.  
**SMETHWICK;** 3 p.m. St. Stephen's Church, Hall Cambridge Road; "The Church and this war"; Rev. Alexander Miller and Canon F. K. Roberts (chairman); Smethwick Christian Pacifist Group.  
**UPPER TOOTING;** 3 p.m. Holy Trinity Church, Trinity Road; Service of Prayer and Dedication; Canon Raven.  
**SHEFFIELD;** 6 p.m. Dick Sheppard Centre, 30a Change Alley; meeting for pacifists and friends; Roy Walker; PPU.  
**CROYDON;** 7 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Park Lane; "The Way of Peace"; Rev. Henry Carter and Rev. Patrick Figgis (chairman); Society of Friends, PPU, Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, Methodist Peace Fellowship and FoR.  
**WEYMOUTH;** 7 p.m. Gloucester Street Congregational Church; Devotional Peace Service conducted by Mr. G. England; PPU.  
**GOLDEES GREEN;** 7.30 p.m. All Souls' Hall, Hoop Lane; A Remembrance Day meeting; Rev. G. Stephens Spinks and Dr. A. Herbert Gray (chairman); PPU.

### Sunday, November 12

**LONDON, S.E.1;** 10.45 a.m. Morley College, 61 Westminster Bridge Road; conference on "Youth, Democracy, and War"; details from Association for Education in Citizenship, 10 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.  
**LONDON, W.C.1;** 1.30 p.m. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square; all-London convention against war and conscription; No Conscription League.  
**LINCOLN;** 7 p.m. Oddfellows' Hall, Unity Square; Andrew Stewart and Rev. F. N. James (chairman); admission by invitation card only; applications for these should be made to Miss J. Parkinson, 8 Boultham Park Road, Lincoln.

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 Inquiries to Rev. A. D. Belden, D.D., and Rev. W. A. Oyler-Waterhouse, Joint Secretaries, 29, Palace Street, London, S.W.1.

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#### MISCELLANEOUS

**LET'S TRY SAYING IT WITH MUSIC!** Instrumentalists wanted for PPU Orchestral Band. If interested, write to: Ernest Culver, 63 Gowan Avenue, Fulham, S.W.6.

#### PERSONAL

**TO COs—Will COs appearing before a tribunal who are not sure of their approach to pacifism, communicate without delay with "Theosophist," c/o Aulay, 61 Gloucester Place, London, W.1, who will mail pamphlet (free), outlining simply the pacifist standpoint on a rational yet spiritual basis. No sectarian foundation; help alone offered.**

**LETTER WRITING?** PPU member composes letters for all occasions. Terms reasonable. Write in confidence. Scribe, 93 Melville Road, London, N.W.10.

**WIDOW** would share pleasant home with another lady. Friend and vegetarian preferred. Good trains to Birmingham.—Box 238, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

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#### RELIGIOUS

**QUAKERISM.** Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

#### SITUATIONS

##### Vacant

**WANTED.** Daily help, two hours' morning work, Monday to Friday. 9 Temple Fortune Court, N.W.11.

**BACHELOR** requires housekeeper, four in household, modern house, country near Maidstone. Box 243, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

##### Wanted

**CHRISTIAN PACIFIST,** married, aged 25, ten years' experience electrical installation, desires any position, London area preferred.—R. Hall, 89 Larkhall Rise, S.W.4

**C.O. (21)** matriculated, bookkeeper, typist, good testimonials, adaptable. Consider anything anywhere, especially farm work.—Weston 9 Bembridge Close, Leicester.

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**DISABLED PACIFIST Ex-Service Man** (Pensioner, 20 years Royal Norfolk Regiment) and wife seek country employment. Good reference from Maples, London.—Box 236, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4

**GROUP SECRETARY,** age 24, employed office public utility company, seeks more creative work. Secondary education.—Box 237, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

**LIVERPOOL C.O. (Religious)** married, 30, Head Margin Clerk, Premier Produce Brokers. Experienced rapid calculations, graphs statistics, moderate. French School certificate. Present salary £220. Accept less. Offer month unpaid probation if prospect permanency.—Box 240, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

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## Pacifist Attitude to Hitlerism

To the Editor of "Peace News"

**PLEASE,** of your courtesy, allow me the space which I would not ask of another journal, where, doubtless, the following reflections would be welcome, but indiscreet.

So much I concede in advance, but I feel I simply must offer a mild protest against the useless attempts our pacifist confreres so often make at minimizing the offences of the more direct disturbers of international peace, and exaggerating the culpability of statesmen and democratic nations less directly responsible. It is this unbalanced estimate that is making our cause more objectionable than it need be to many.

Because the other people exclude democratic responsibility, save for puerile appearances of penitence, there is no reason why we should go to the other extreme by whitewashing the swash-bucklers of autarchy, or by under-stating their crimes against God and man. I write as a pacifist converted after the last war, whose record since then can bear investigation, and who has a seat on two national executive pacifist committees.

My reason for this protest is caused particularly by Mr. John Middleton Murry's astonishing definition of Hitlerism, which, in the current issue of *Peace News*, deliberately limits this dreadful thing to a mere effort at "overcoming economic crisis by regimenting the whole nation in the task of preparation for war." Nothing in the article subsequent to this totally inadequate definition directly suggests the real Hitlerism, which beyond a shadow of doubt was succinctly, though not completely, summed up by the Prime Minister when he termed it an evil thing of broken faith and falsehood.

For goodness' sake let us keep to realities in our pacifism and not pretend to the existence of a higher righteousness among the remorseless advocates of Hitlerism than actually exists. It only exasperates old-time pacifists who keep their memories of many things green.

We can apply our principles to the evil without minimizing the wrong or excusing the wrongdoers. Hitlerism is definitely anti-Christian and its roots are not in a faulty economic system in the world—that is its opportunity—it will always flourish where men prefer evil to righteousness. Hitlerism is much more than a misguided attempt at rectifying national wrongs; it is the denial of God and right in everything. Hitler is not a mistaken prophet seeking at least some good, but he and his colleagues know perfectly well what they want, and it is not good, either for their own people now, or the world ultimately.

WILFRID H. BOURNE.

The Manse,  
 84 Florida Road,  
 Thornton Heath, Surrey.

\* \* We hope to publish Middleton Murry's reply next week.—Ed.

## Willesden Pacifists in Court

Two Willesden pacifists who were taken in charge by the police while distributing leaflets to men registering under the National Service (Armed Forces) Act on the Saturday before last appeared in court on Monday.

The case was dismissed.

On the day they were taken in charge they spent five hours in the cells at the police station.

## Doctrine of Force

"The only question which the war will immediately settle is whether the Allies or the Germans are militarily (and economically) the stronger Power. If that question is settled in our favour and we proceed to impose our terms on Germany we shall be practising precisely the doctrine against which we are in arms. The only escape, and the only insurance against a repetition of the last 20 years, is the resolution that we shall do nothing of the sort; but that, if and when we have won the war, by every practicable means we shall invoke in the peace-making the co-operation of all parties concerned, German and neutral, as well as ourselves."

—From a letter in *The Times* signed by J. D. Beresford, P. G. H. Boswell, J. Hutchison Cockburn, Helen Darbishire, A. S. Eddington, R. A. Gregory, H. J. W. Hetherington, Thos. H. Holland, D. Caradog Jones, Geoffrey London, W. R. Matthews, Walter H. Moberly, John Middleton Murry, L. H. Myers, J. Scott Lidgett, J. S. Whale, H. M. Wodehouse.



# IN DEFENCE OF THE C.O.s

By the Plain Man

(continued from page 1)

different from that of the person they are examining.

But Charles Graves got it "from the horse's mouth." Following Fleet Street traditions of reporting, he wasn't content merely to observe the tribunal at work; he sought out one of the tribunal's members, Sir James Baillie.

That gentleman, he said, told him "that in his opinion many of the conscientious objectors really mean that they are afraid of being killed themselves when they say that they don't want to kill other people."

A revealing remark from such a source!

★

THE cry of "Coward!" is an easy one to raise. Before you say it is justified (if you don't happen to be a pacifist) I'd like to tell you of a remark I heard some years ago from the captain of an ocean liner who was decorated during the last war for a daring sea exploit.

This mariner was discussing Ramsay MacDonald—then Prime Minister—with a business man. The talk turned to MacDonald's war record.

The business man said he thought MacDonald was entitled to express his views until war broke out. Once it had come, however, he should have kept quiet; at such a time, conscientious objection was unjustifiable.

## Could He Do It?

"Yes," said the captain, "but would you have the guts to do it?"

I wonder if Mr. Graves "would have the guts" to face the misunderstanding, the persecution, the possibility of physical violence, and the years in prison, that were often the lot of the men who opposed the last war.

The young COs of today are in some ways the followers of those men. For those who intend to refuse all forms of war service, whatever the tribunals and the *Daily Mail* may say, the former COs will be an inspiration.

The young men know what happened last time: they know how men suffered, at the hands of the military authorities, brutalities

such as we condemn when they are practised by Nazis; they know that some men died as a result of their treatment; they know that others are today broken in health. But they have made up their minds.

It is too early to say what will happen to them. I know some of them, however, and I know it is not too early to say that many will persist in witnessing, in the way that seems to them to be right, for the ideal in which they believe.

Would Mr. Graves have them do otherwise? That would indeed seem cowardice.

★

NEXT we are told that "the 'conchie' has previously enclosed in writing what he alleges to be his personal religious beliefs. But when you see the youth himself you know quite well it has usually been written for him by someone else."

Which is as reasonable as my saying that if I met Mr. Graves face-to-face I should know quite well that his articles were written by a brass-hat in the War Office.

Some cases of statements being prepared by a friend there may have been. There's nothing fundamentally immoral in that—though it's silly, since the CO himself has to answer the questions. But obviously a youth of 20 feels the need of help in such a matter, particularly if (unlike Charles Graves) he has not the gift of expressing himself very clearly.

For such young men a tribunal is an ordeal which few people would relish. Hence the frequent signs of nervousness, which I have seen myself.

And so it goes on... "The young chap" is "usually weedy and of no possible use for active service."

## Victims of the Last War

Doubtless some COs aren't very robust. But then, you see, they were born during or just after the last war; their mothers did not realize that another generation would be asked to pay with its blood the price of politicians' blunders. The very weaknesses from which such young men suffer can sometimes be traced to the effect of the last war on their fathers. Penitence, not derision, would seem to be called for.

And perhaps Mr. Graves doesn't know that sometimes the tribunals have shown marked reluctance to allow a war-wracked father to say much in support of a son who refuses to fight.

★

FORTUNATELY *Peace News* does not descend to personalities. It has no need to; only the advocate with a bad case is driven to that.

There is therefore nothing that we can say about the mentality which produces the following:

"Next on the card was curly-haired Eric Bond... Eric objected to anything military, of course (he wore a high-necked jumper)... 'It struck me as queer, at this stage, that of all the 'conchie' whom I heard only two had ordinary common names like Bill, George, Jack, Fred, Charlie, Bob, Dick, or Harry..."

"Next we came to one of the only two conscientious objectors with a manly name. This was Fred Carter..."

The *Daily Mail* used to have a reputation for publishing this sort of thing. Apparently it wants to get that reputation back. Well, only its readers can prevent it from doing so.

## Used to It

The youngsters at present appearing before tribunals won't be very much worried by an attack on this level from such a quarter. Many of them have already had to put up with equally senseless opprobrium—sometimes even within their home circle.

The rest of us can help by showing up such talk for the nonsense it really is. Attempts to provoke ill feeling and prejudice can only be countered by a personal attitude which will win respect, if not agreement.

★

IN that connexion I should like to recall a few passages from Mr. Chamberlain's speech in the House some months ago when he introduced the second reading of the Military Training Act.

His words seem to be in danger of being forgotten:

"We all recognize that these are people who

have perfectly genuine and very deep-seated scruples on the subject of military service, and even if we do not agree with those scruples, at any rate we can respect them if they are honestly held..."

"It often happens that those who hold the most extreme opinions hold them with the greatest tenacity. We learned something about this in the Great War, and I think we found that it was both a useless and an exasperating waste of time and effort to attempt to force such people to act in a manner which was contrary to their principles..."

"Then there are lastly those, very few in number I think, who are really shirkers and who would take advantage of exemptions of this kind to avoid a duty which lies upon every citizen..." (My italics.)

"I think it will be clear that a great responsibility attaches to the local tribunal. Therefore, special care will have to be taken in choosing those who are to sit upon these tribunals..."

"I want to make it clear here that in the view of the Government, where scruples are conscientiously held, we desire that they should be respected and that there should be no persecution of those who hold them..."

I commend these words to Charles Graves, to the Editor of the *Daily Mail*, and to Sir James Baillie.

I am beginning to wonder whether "special care" really was "taken in choosing those who are to sit upon these tribunals." Sir James isn't the first member of a tribunal to give vent to an utterance that is quite indefensible from the lips of a supposedly impartial adjudicator.

## News for C.O.s

### Advisory Bureaux Changes

CONSCIENTIOUS objectors in the Aylesbury district who are seeking advice should get into touch only with Mr. A. W. Page, Oxleys, Leighton Buzzard, Beds., and not with Mr. R. E. Frost, whose name was also included in the full list of Advisory Bureaux for COs we published on October 6.

Following are further amendments and additions to that list, and any similar changes should not be sent to *Peace News* but to the National Advisory Bureau, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

## Amendments

BETHNAL GREEN AND DALSTON. Charles H. Haworth, Friends' Hall, 36 Barnet Grove, E.2.

GOSPORT. Mr. J. F. Smith, 89 Forton Road, Gosport, Hants.

KINGSTON AND DISTRICT. H. E. Bachellor, 39 The Ridge, Surbiton.

RADCLIFFE AND BURY. 23 Pembroke Road, Bury, Lancs.

ROCHESTER, CHATHAM, GILLINGHAM. C. Ruth, Hornfair, 30 Priestfield, Rochester.

STOCKTON. Mr. S. Wright, 3 Granville Grove, Nerton, Stockton-on-Tees.

WELLS. H. W. Coates, 1 Tor Woodland, Tor Street, Wells, Somerset.

## Additions

BROMLEY. John Getgood, 114 Oxhathway Crescent, Bromley, Kent.

DORKING. E. C. Harvey, Deep Dene End, Deep Dene Wood, Dorking.

DUMFRIES. Samuel Burns, 144 High Street, Dumfries.

EPSOM. E. R. Dawson, 3 Ashley Avenue, Epsom.

GORSEINON. 70 Brynamlwg Road, Gorseinon, Swansea, Glam.

NEW MILLS AND DISTRICT. David Larcombe, Fairway, Disley, Cheshire.

PALMERS GREEN AND SOUTHGATE. H. F. Moore, 11 Norman Way, Southgate, N.14.

PETTS WOOD. Philip Dickson, 30a Shepperton Road, Petts Wood, Kent.

PUTNEY. 63 Hazlewell Road, London, S.W.15.

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ASK YOUR NEWSAGENT TO DELIVER "PEACE NEWS" EVERY WEEK

## Pacifism Was Censored at Sheffield

"A WORLD which has adopted pacifism will be a world which has earned the right to live at peace."

The Editor of the *Sheffield Telegraph and Independent* seems to think that words like these are against the national interest.

They were part of a speech made by Stuart Morris, chairman of the Peace Pledge Union, before an audience which almost overflowed into the corridor of the Victoria Hall, Sheffield.

All that the local press was able to publish about the meeting, which was a tremendous success, was a bare four lines—although a reporter who was present took copious notes.

The witness of the "rightness" of pacifism, declared Stuart Morris was all too obvious in this war, and it would be very easy for pacifists to say, "We told you so."

The war he said, was in one way inevitable. We had for years been breaking the fundamental laws of this world. We had been talking glibly of international brotherhood and doing nothing about it.

"If the war is the result of a broken law, then the prelude to peace is penitence," he told his audience.

The meeting, which was arranged jointly by the Sheffield University PPU group and the Sheffield Branch exceeded all the hopes the organizers had of its success, not only in numbers, but in the spirit of the audience.

## PACIFISTS DEFY COUNCILLORS

FOLLOWING on the action of two town councillors, who, as reported in *Peace News* of October 20, tore up the posters and papers of Walsall pacifists selling in the street for the first time, nearly 40 people took part in a mass selling at Walsall last Saturday, meeting with no interference.

It was quite a holiday outing for the sellers from Birmingham, who assembled at Dick Sheppard House, and, after one or two spurious commands like "Squad 'shun!" left for Walsall by car and bus. On arrival they were met by Walsall members, and soon took up positions at intervals along the main streets, armed with tie-on posters and copies of *Peace News*. It was soon evident that the two councillors did not represent the attitude of all Walsall citizens, for a number of sales were made in the first ten minutes.

Various comments were made by the public; some made by different Air Force men were: "Peace! Not likely! I haven't had a smack at Hitler yet."

A different attitude was shown by: "Well, I'm glad to find there are still some sensible people left."

In contradiction to that came this one, also from an Air Force man: "You look much too sensible to do this kind of thing."

The total sales were 90 copies.

The ex-army captain, who, as was also reported in *Peace News* of October 20, resigned the governing directorship of a metal firm for conscientious reasons, was one of the sellers standing on the site where the papers were torn up two weeks before. He and several others seemed disappointed that there was no opportunity of conversation with the men who did the tearing.

## In Memory of Dick Sheppard

THE second anniversary of the death of Dick Sheppard, founder of the Peace Pledge Union, was commemorated by the performance of *The Little Plays of St. Francis*, by Laurence Housman, at the Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, London, on Saturday, Monday, and Tuesday.

On Tuesday, the actual date of the anniversary, Max Plowman spoke on Dick Sheppard's personality, work, and example at a memorial service in the King's Weigh House Church. We hope to print extracts from his address in our next issue.

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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example. Give your pledge on a postcard:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to the Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

Please hand this to your Newsagent

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(Newsagent's name)

Please deliver "PEACE NEWS" to me weekly.

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No. 177 3.11.39

STOP PRESS

Bristol Tribunal

Bristol COs' tribunal met Tuesday for first time since war was declared. Our observer reports that it was, as formerly scrupulously fair. Out of 29 cases, 19 were given unconditional exemption. (Other tribunal reports, page 5.)

PUBLIC CLEARED FROM LONDON TRIBUNAL

The public was cleared from the London COs' Tribunal, meeting in Fulham on Wednesday afternoon. (Warnings concerning behaviour of members of public attending tribunals appear in reports on page 5.)